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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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Nonaligned Meeting in Angola: Prelude to the General AssemblySummary

The United States will come under sharp criticism at the 2-7 September Nonaligned Movement (NAM) foreign ministers conference in Luanda, Angola. We expect Angola, with the assistance of Cuba, to exploit the NAM's established anti-US bias on its core issues: creation of a Palestinian state, black rule in Namibia and South Africa, establishment of a New International Economic Order, and superpower disarmament. The nonaligned countries will use the conference as a strategy session for the fall UN General Assembly and probably will propose at the UN the resolutions they adopt in Luanda.

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Diplomatic [redacted] reporting indicate that the conference attendees will try to develop consensus positions and strategy on several General Assembly issues:

- o Soviet Third World clients, led by Cuba, will try to enlist nonaligned support for condemnation of the US

This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Subversion Analysis Branch, Office of Global Issues, and [redacted] Southern Africa Branch, Office of Africa and Latin American Affairs. It has been coordinated with the Offices of Soviet Analysis, Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis, East Asian Analysis and European Analysis, as well as the Directorate of Operations. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Foreign Subversion and Instability Center, [redacted]

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Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

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- o Cuba and the African countries will try to politicize the Third World debt issue by advocating a debtors' cartel or an international debt conference. We expect the major Latin American debtors to block these proposals, but they may join a call for negotiations with creditors on finding alternative methods of debt repayment in order to send a message to the United States.
- o Malaysia will seek conference support for its proposal to replace the Antarctic treaty, of which South Africa is a member of, with a UN-controlled regime that would treat Antarctica as the "common heritage of mankind." The conference is likely to endorse the Malaysian proposal because of its desire to establish the common heritage principle and isolate South Africa, but the proposal itself is a low priority for most nonaligned countries.

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The conference will also try to decide which country should become chairman of the NAM in 1986. The chairman serves as a spokesman and coordinator for the nonaligned in the UN.

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The Angolan civil war may overshadow conference business. Both the Dos Santos government and the Savimbi-led UNITA insurgents view the meeting as a propaganda opportunity: Dos Santos hopes that a successful conference will provide badly needed international prestige while UNITA hopes to disrupt the conference and demonstrate the government's lack of control. We believe UNITA will refrain from actions against conference participants so as not to undercut their expected propaganda benefits. According to diplomatic reporting, most foreign observers in Angola--including the Cubans--expect the

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government's precautions will not prevent UNITA from creating one or more incidents. Should the insurgents be successful, it could have an impact on the composition of the Angolan leadership as Dos Santos searches for scapegoats to blame for the breakdown in security.

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Nonaligned Meeting in Angola: Prelude to the General AssemblyIntroduction

The 101-member Nonaligned Movement (NAM) will hold a foreign ministers conference on 2-7 September in Luanda, Angola. The Angolans drafted the conference communique and it is sharply critical of the United States. Diplomatic reporting indicates that moderate members, led by Singapore, will press for changes in it. Nevertheless, we believe that the final communique--due to a highly organized effort by the Cuban-led radicals--will reflect Luanda's draft. Cuba used its 1979-1983 chairmanship to make the NAM a platform for anti-US rhetoric. India, the chairman since 1983, has worked to temper some nonaligned condemnations of the United States but the organization retains an anti-US bias.

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The NAM will use the Luanda conference to reaffirm its four longstanding objectives: creation of a Palestinian state, black rule in Namibia and South Africa, establishment of a New International Economic Order, and superpower disarmament. The conference is certain to criticize US positions on these issues. Cuba is striving to make support for leftist governments and movements in Central America and the Caribbean a core nonaligned issue and is likely to make progress. The ministers probably will paper over differences on issues which divide them: we anticipate, for example, that they will neither endorse nor condemn the Jordanian-PLO peace initiative, leave the Kampuchean seat in the NAM empty, and avoid nonaligned membership for the Polisario.

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Diplomatic [redacted] reporting suggest that the nonaligned countries will try to reach consensus positions and develop strategy on several issues expected to arise at the fall UN General Assembly: the US Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), Third World debt, and revision of the Antarctic treaty. The ministers will also try to decide which country will host the nonaligned summit in 1986 and assume the chairmanship for the following three years.

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Nonaligned Support for Moscow's Anti-SDI Campaign

[redacted] The Soviets have a good opportunity in Luanda to win nonaligned support on SDI through such Third World clients as Cuba and Angola. Cuba has mastered the parliamentary manuvering needed to win passage of weakly supported resolutions. To get an anti-SDI resolution through the conference, the Cubans and other Soviet clients are likely to use the proclamation on disarmament issued in January 1985 by the heads of state of Tanzania, Mexico, India, Argentina, Sweden, and Greece. The proclamation called for the "prohibition of the development, testing, production, deployment, and use of all

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space weapons." The Soviet clients may ask Tanzania, India, and Argentina to help them pass a similar resolution, perhaps expanding it to include a ban on SDI research.

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An anti-SDI resolution in Luanda could encourage nonaligned heads of state and foreign ministers to criticize SDI during their speeches before the General Assembly in late September and October. Moreover, the above mentioned six heads of state are considering another summit this October in New York during the ceremonies commemorating the 40th anniversary of the UN and may, at the behest of the NAM, emphasize the space militarization issue. Moscow could thus gain considerable propaganda benefit shortly before the November US-USSR Summit meeting.

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Politicizing Third World Debt

We believe Cuba and the African countries will take the lead in trying to politicize the Third World debt issue. Many Third World debtors are dissatisfied with the current practice of negotiating individually with their creditors. The July summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) called for a conference between African debtors and their creditors. Cuba is advocating a Third World debtors' cartel or cancellation of Third World debt. The Cartagena group of 11 Latin American debtors has been trying for the past year to establish a political dialogue with creditor governments outside the IMF.

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In our judgment, the Latin American debtors will prevent the NAM from advocating a debtors' cartel or an international debt conference. Five Cartagena members do not belong to the NAM and the other six probably will not feel able to deviate from the group's opposition to these proposals. We believe the Cartagena members in attendance are likely to exercise a moderating influence on the Cubans and the Africans. Nonetheless, we believe they may agree to a resolution that calls for negotiations with creditors on finding alternative methods of debt repayment. We think Cartagena members may want to use the NAM and the UN to signal the United States and other creditors that they are impatient with the absence of progress on their demand for a multilateral political dialogue on debt.

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Malaysia's Effort to Overhaul Antarctic Treaty

Diplomatic reporting indicates that Malaysia--following up its initiative at the 1983 New Delhi summit--wants the Luanda conference to further its initiative to replace the Antarctic treaty with a UN-controlled regime that would treat Antarctica as the "common heritage of mankind." The current treaty is administered by the 16 states that conduct significant scientific research on the continent. Two nonaligned countries, India and Argentina, belong to the treaty as does South Africa. An additional 16 countries are associated with the treaty and are seeking full membership.

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We expect Malaysia to press for a nonaligned resolution requesting the establishment of a Special Committee in the General Assembly to review the Antarctic treaty. The Malaysian proposal received only lukewarm support from the nonaligned in the UN the past two years and appeared moribund. The July 1985 OAU summit revived it, however, by calling for the common heritage principle to be applied to Antarctica. Since the OAU accounts for half of the nonaligned membership, Kuala Lumpur should be in a strong position. South Africa's participation in the current treaty will also help Malaysia's cause.

We expect the conference to approve a resolution backing a UN Special Committee. Argentina and India oppose the idea, but probably will not voice significant opposition in Luanda. We expect them to wait until the venue shifts to the General Assembly where the other treaty members can lead the opposition. In our judgment, most nonaligned states believe they have little to gain from an overhaul of the Antarctic treaty and will support the Malaysian proposal primarily to establish the common heritage principle and isolate South Africa.

Yugoslavia's Bid for the Chairmanship

Yugoslavia is the leading candidate to host the next nonaligned summit, scheduled for September 1986, and assume the chairmanship for 1986-1989. Belgrade hosted the first nonaligned summit in 1961 and would be the first country to hold the chairmanship twice.

The issue is already an embarrassment to the NAM. The 1983 summit designated Iraq to host the conference but its war with Iran, another nonaligned member, forced it to withdraw.

The nonaligned chairman serves as a spokesman and coordinator for the developing countries in the United Nations and, if aggressive, can steer the developing countries toward a

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more moderate or radical UN agenda. While we think Yugoslavia would use its chairmanship to push more moderate views, Belgrade probably would acquiesce to strong criticism of the United States on the NAM's core issues. Diplomatic reporting indicates that Yugoslavia feels its nonaligned credentials are vulnerable because it is one of only three European members in the NAM. Moreover, in the past Belgrade often has been unwilling to distance itself from the anti-US positions of nonaligned radicals. For example, during the 1984 UN General Assembly, Yugoslavia voted for all 19 "name-calling" resolutions that singled out the United States for criticism.

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The Angolan Government and UNITA: The Propaganda War

We believe the Angolan civil war may overshadow any business conducted at the conference. Both the Dos Santos government and the UNITA insurgents view the meeting as a propaganda opportunity. The Angolan government is attempting to ensure the meeting takes place without incident. Western diplomats in Luanda estimate the Angolan government is spending from \$30 to \$50 million on the conference. Security is being tightened in a 30 kilometer radius from the capital and at strategic points such as the airport, power lines, major highways, and the port. The government is also attempting to improve Luanda's appearance and infrastructure. [redacted] hotels and numerous office buildings are being renovated, 25 kilometers of streets improved and upgraded, and a \$5 million contract was awarded to a Brazilian company to install a telephone net for the meeting.

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Most foreign observers in Angola--including the Cubans, according to a Western diplomat--expect the government's preparations will not prevent UNITA from creating one or more incidents. UNITA, according to the diplomat, may have been responsible for setting fire to the government's main warehouse in mid-July, destroying some \$3 million worth of consumer goods imported especially for the conference. The diplomat reported speculation among the foreign community in Luanda that UNITA will make two major strikes during the conference--one in Luanda itself and one against a provincial target--to embarrass Dos Santos and the MPLA.

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[redacted] We believe, however, that UNITA will refrain from actions against conference participants so as not to undercut its expected propaganda gains.

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The success or failure of the Luanda conference is likely to have significant political ramifications. Disruption of the meeting would not only embarrass the Soviet-backed regime, but would also have an impact on the composition of the Angolan leadership as Dos Santos looks for scapegoats to blame for the

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breakdown in security. Conversely, should the meeting take place without incident its success would provide a much needed morale boost for the government, increase the party's international prestige, and undercut UNITA's claims about its military prowess.

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